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USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

FOR THE

PRODUCERS OF WEALTH,

BEING

AN ENQUIRY

INTO

THE NATURE OF TRADE, THE CURRENCY,

THE PROTECTIVE AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT SYSTEMS,

AND INTO THE ORIGIN AND EFFECTS OF

BANKING AND PAPER MONEY.

By William H. Hale.

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TO THE VENERABLE FRIEND

OF THE FATHER OF MY COUNTRY,

LAFAYETTE.

My Dear Sir,

In a letter of yours, addressed to an American citizen about leaving France to return home, which has just been published in our newspapers, I am much pleased to see you express so much confidence that the patriotism and good sense of the people of these United States will prevent our bickerings and dissensions from terminating fatally to the Union; a Union looked up to with so much anxiety by the people of other nations, as a last hope for the triumph of principles of liberty and equity over fraud and despotism; and which principles, if they cannot maintain their stand here, it is feared will take their leave of the world for ever. You will, doubtless, ere this, have perceived something in the character and knowledge of the people of this country that has not till lately been developed, to strengthen that confidence in their good sense; I mean their decision upon the Bank and Debt questions, as expressed by our late elections. You will be pleased to perceive that the people are so far advanced in the knowledge of the nature of those institutions which raise the few to so high and independent a station above their numerous brethren, and oppress the millions to the condition of slaves, and which, if continued, will lead us to early disunion and monarchy. I hope this exhibition of knowledge and patriotism in the people will dispel all fears you may have for the stability of our Union.

To increase the knowledge of the people on subjects which are of such vital importance for them to understand in order to maintain their freedom, is the design of this little work. With much diffidence I address these few lines to you, knowing you to be a friend of "*the people*" of every country, that, through the influence of your name, this knowledge may be spread before a much greater number of the people than would be willing to receive it without such influence.

Please accept this as a testimonial of respect, love, and gratitude, due to you not only from myself, but from every true American, for the part you bore in obtaining our freedom, and as having been the friend of our country's Father.

WM. H. HALE.

Brooklyn, L. I., Dec. 2, 1832.

[Entered, according to Act of Congress, by George H. Evans, in the year 1832, in the Office of the Clerk of the Southren District of New York.]

USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

FOR THE

PRODUCERS OF WEALTH.

In looking into matters and things of this world, and "settling the affairs of the nation," there are some that arrest the attention of every person. Trade is a matter that has often attracted my attention, and, I think, now requires me to explain, in my own way, its nature and abuses, the conclusions I have come to, and the reasoning which led me to these conclusions.

Trade is the exchanging the *produce of labor*, or property: it is the BARTER of the Westerners, the SWAP of the Yankees, the WRAP of the English, and the COMMERCE of the world. It is the grand distinctive mark of civilization; and when kept within just bounds, is of very great advantage to a people, and next in benefit to being able to produce property by labor.

In this examination it will be necessary, after describing the nature of trade and the use of money, to scrutinize pretty closely the Banking System; Usury; the American System, alias Home Protection, alias the Tariff; the Internal Improvement System; and Legislation as connected with the abuses of trade.

The great advantage of trade to society consists in its permitting one individual to produce one kind of article only, of use or luxury to the community. Each individual confining himself to the production of one thing or kind of thing, becomes very learned in the nature and constitution, and very expert in the production of that thing; and he is enabled to introduce all the facilities to that production which it is possible to introduce, as they naturally present themselves to a mind learned in the subject, and interested in the accomplishment of those facilities. He may exchange a thousand of the articles so produced for a thousand articles produced by other individuals, which he may think he wants: so, if he were master of a thousand factories, he could not

supply himself more easily, or more to his mind, than he does by trade, by having those factories the property of so many individuals.

After things are produced, or made into property, then comes trade to distribute them to those who want, and who will give some other property of equal value for them. So each one gets by trade, barter, swap, or commerce, the kind of property he wants, for the property he has produced so abundantly, and which he does not want.

At the first start in the examination of trade, we see the vast importance of being possessed of a measure for value. In all kinds of property we have measures for quantity, and if we have a corresponding measure for value, it will convey to the mind at once the relative value of one measure of quantity of one article, compared to any other measure of quantity of any other article.

We find that in very ancient times, money was invented for this measure of value; and, in order to make this measure as little liable to variation as possible, the precious metals were taken, because the quantity of it could not be increased but in very slow and imperceptible degrees. If iron had been chosen, it would have defeated the object of obtaining a standard measure; there being so much of it in the world, and so easily attainable from the ore by every body, that it would have become of little or no value in itself, except as a species of property; and whatever value it should retain, would be dependent on the quantity of labor required to produce it in any given form or place. Water, we know, is of no value; but let it require labor to produce it in a particular place, then it becomes property of the value of the *labor* required for its production. Not so with the precious metals; they have an intrinsic value, owing to their imperishable nature, and peculiar fitness for a variety of useful and ornamental things; they are given out by the earth very sparingly, and those persons who collect them get generally much worse paid for their labor, than if they were employed in some useful production.

For many ages the quantity of gold and silver in the world remained nearly stationary, the wear and loss of the metal taking away as fast as new metal was supplied; but during the last two centuries, since the opening of the Mexican and other mines, the *quantity* has been gradually increasing, and consequently it has been decreasing proportionately in value.

Before the metals of which we make our measure of value began to increase, *prices* of property of all kinds remained

nearly stationary for centuries. Thus, the value of a sheep during those centuries, in England,* was measured by fourteen pence; but as the precious metals began to increase during the seventeenth century, the measure of value began to shrink very gradually, so as to require fifteen, sixteen, and, by the middle of the eighteenth century, twenty pence to measure the value of a sheep, and every other species of property in proportion; that is, the measure had shrunk to two thirds of its original dimensions.

I wish you particularly to bear in mind this *natural law of property* and *money*, for you will have to apply it occasionally in pursuing the subject I am now treating upon. *As the quantity of any article produced is increased, so is the value decreased; and the whole quantity produced, whether little or much, is the same in its aggregate value, provided a larger community is not to be supplied out of it.*

In a community of one hundred thousand persons, if there be but one thousand rich enough to supply themselves with a particular article, owing to the value of the labor expended in its production and distribution, it is evident the cost of labor must be diminished ninety-nine parts out of a hundred, or, in other words, the same labor must be able to produce one hundred times the effect it now does, before the whole community can be supplied with that article. The only advantage a manufacturer receives for his improvements, is by supplying other communities, because he will receive no more value for his increased quantity of goods from his own community than he did before.

There is a certain proportion of every man's income to be spent for clothing or dress, another for food, and so on. A man whose income is $100 a year, will spend about $16, or one sixth, for clothing: a man of $1,000, will also spend about one sixth for the same object and personal ornaments: the same with a man of $10,000: but where there is one man of $10,000, there are a hundred of $1,000, and ten thousand of $100 a year; so if one article of clothing, a coat, for instance, cost $100, there is but one man out of ten thousand one hundred and one who is able to purchase it. Now, if improvements in the manufacture of coats can be made, which will allow the same labor to produce ten coats, then one hundred and one men will have them, (unless him of the $10,000 should find a more expensive article for his dress;)

* I shall often have occasion to refer to England, as that is a very old country, and we can see and trace the natural workings of things in regular progression on the habits of the people for many ages.

and if the labor be again reduced tenfold, every man in that community will have one to his back. You see the manufacturer would gain nothing here, in his own community; he would have his old profit, to be sure, but nothing more. The cheapness of his coats would bring other communities to his manufactory, and then he would get a new profit to pay for his improvements.

This has actually been the case with all our great manufactures; but more palpably in the cotton and iron manufactures than any others. And though the manufacturers now receive a hundred times the aggregate amount for their productions that we may suppose they did when confined to their little communities, it is owing to their improved facilities having reduced the cost of labor expended in the production of each article, and by these means indefinitely extending the limits of their community; and also to contraction in the measure of value, of which contraction I shall have more to say farther on.

I hope I have succeeded in clearly explaining the above law, as it has always been considered very abstruse, and difficult to comprehend. If we succeed in clearing away the stones, the dirt, and the rubbish from this part of the road, we shall be able to drive all the rest of the way; if not, we must lead, and stumble, and sweat, till we are tired of our travel, and then give over in disgust, cursing the jockey for getting us into such a hobble. Perhaps it would be as well to examine again closely the part we have just got the leaders through, and see that all is clear for the carriage, before we remount to drive.

Some people seem to think that, like things of use and comfort, our standard measure of value ought to be manufactured and increased as fast as possible; and, in fact, about eighty years ago, or rather longer, the rich and powerful of this world, seeking out to themselves new inventions, (as St. Paul has it,) began introducing, as a substitute for the precious metals, something that could be obtained any where, and in any quantity. It was paper! Why look ye so surprised? It was nothing but paper, I assure ye. They found it was as good, aye, and even better than gold and silver, because of the facilities it afforded them of furnishing themselves with money, and because it was *so convenient* to transport from place to place. All that was required to make it so very valuable, was merely for a creditable person or corporation to write their name upon it.

What a field then opened upon the people for trade and

speculation. Every person who had property then, even him of a single sheep, suddenly became rich ; his sheep, that was worth but a few pence before, in a little while became worth many shillings, and finally became worth pounds. It was an invention that made every body worth twenty times as much as they were before. Oh! what prosperous times it made. The invention was called "Banking;" and any place or house from which these papers were issued, was called "A Bank."

There is one drawback upon this invention, which the people have never been able clearly to see. This drawback I will explain to them, to open their eyes to some of the oppressions under which they have had to suffer.

It was discovered by some very wise philanthropists,* that a sheep would not support a man twenty times as long as it did before : they began thinking and calculating ; the result of which was, that a sheep would support a man a certain length of time, and no longer, let the *price* be what it would. The conclusion could not be avoided ; the *value* of the sheep *had not* been increased ; *it was the money that had shrunk in value, by being produced in such indefinite quantities.* They very disinterestedly published their discoveries and conclusions to the people; but, Lord! what could the people do? being hoodwinked, gulled, and deceived in all manner of ways by the money makers, with a pack of retainers and speculators at their back, who were *interested* in making the people believe that their money was to the political body, like savory meats to the natural body, and not like a cathartic, making them void and throw from them that which before was their comfort, support, and happiness.

This banking invention enables us to borrow more readily, and to anticipate a future trade ; but it does not create trade. The same trade could be carried on without the banks, but it would be less in nominal amount. We cannot suppose a case, where, if trade were left to itself, there would not be money enough in the country to transfer all the property with, which would require to be transferred : its relative measure of value will always depend upon the quantity in circulation at any one time ; its aggregate value will remain always the same, by the natural law which governs in this case.

Banks draw a revenue out of the labor of the community, which ought not to be allowed by our representatives. It is allowing private individuals to tax the people for those indi-

* Thomas Paine, William Cobbett, and others.

viduals' private benefit ; and it is this, with other monopolies, that create so many princely fortunes, and so many, very many, poor and paupers among us. This is more palpable in England, and all old countries, than it is with us, because the causes have been longer and more uninterruptedly at work there, than in our new country ; the effect is, however, beginning to show itself, and to be felt very sensibly, here.

Banks have such facilities for coining paper money, as to be able to corrupt almost every body that can be of use to them. Hence our very partial legislation in favor of a class, and against the people.

Money, in one respect, is like a foot rule; it is the measure of certain properties of things ; it is meant to measure the quantity of labor bestowed on any one thing, or on every thing. If we cut the end of our measure off, or splice on a bit, to make it fit some particular article of property, we act unjustly to our neighbor, and defraud him of a part of his rightful property, the produce of his labor. In this respect, then, we see the absolute necessity of a certain standard of measurement which cannot be altered. It is impossible to accomplish this so perfectly as we can other measurements ; but still, we can approximate very closely to it. It was one great maxim of all ancient governments to be very severe on any one who should do any thing to alter the value of money; and the fifth clause, eighth section, of the first article of the Constitution of the United States says, "The Congress shall have power to *coin* money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin;" and again, in the first clause of the tenth section, it says, "No *State* shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; *coin money ; emit bills of credit ;* MAKE ANY THING BUT GOLD AND SILVER COIN A TENDER IN PAYMENT OF DEBTS; pass any bill of attainder, expost facto law, or law impairing the *obligation of contracts ;* or grant any titles of nobility." So, our Constitution intended to protect us against the bad effects of an unstable currency, or elastic measure of value, by confining us to the precious metals for this measure ; but the itchings of those who are high in power, and of those who have influence with them, to have the handling and disposal of more money than was possible for them to have honestly, has led them tacitly and virtually to abrogate those ancient maxims, and these express clauses of our Constitution, and to inundate the country with a base paper substitute, to get a tax from the people without their perceiving it. And this substitute is calculated to take all

property out of the hands of those who produce it, and give it to money makers and speculators, under the specious name of trade.

Banks are mere speculating things, created on purpose to cheat the producers of wealth out of their labor;* for, as money is merely the representative of labor, we see if they are allowed to increase the quantity whenever it suits them to do so, they will not be long in absorbing the whole wealth, or produce of the labor of the people, for their paper money and the use of it, which is no representative of labor at all in their hands. It takes them some longer, however, to do this than a person would be apt to suppose from the first look at it. I have said before that the value would decrease at the same rate as the quantity increased: and the money makers would find, as they increased their loans or purchases, that they would be required to lend more to do the same amount of business, or to give more for property of the same value as they purchased before. Speculators (or money makers, it is all the same thing) buy at the measure of value due to the quantity of money previously in circulation; and when they pay, it is done by a new emission, instead of out of the old stock, which increases the nominal amount in circulation, but leaves the aggregate value just where it was; and, as the *price* of all property is, by the *unerring laws of nature*, established to be a *certain proportion* of all the money in circulation, the next person purchasing would have to give more of the money so depreciated for property of the same kind and value; and if he be a producer of property instead of a producer of money, he pays out of the old stock of circulation, and the value of our circulating medium is not altered by the transaction. If the money makers could buy all

* Mr. Cobbett says:—"When I dined at Richard Potter's, Tom Potter took me aside and asked my opinion relative to a *Joint Stock Banking Company*, at Manchester, which he and others had an intention of setting up. I very frankly told him that my opinion was, that no really honest man would have any thing to do with such a matter; that the '*accommodation*' to persons in business, which he professed to look upon as its good, was in fact a very great evil; that it supplied the parties with false means of trading, and gave the parties borrowing from them the means of plundering them; that it was a combination of rich men to prey upon those distresses which their false issues first served to create; that, in fact, they would lend nothing, and, by the means of pretended loans of money, would *get men's goods away at half price;* that it was a calling at war with every principle of morality and religion; that at best it was usury, and that in fact it was usury and robbery combined; that it must tend to make the rich more rich, the poor more poor, and to add to the dangers of the country and the miseries of the people; that, in the end, the monstrous system must blow up, and, that justice would have taken its departure from the earth, if the parties who had grown rich by such villany were not compelled to disgorge."—*Register*, 22*nd September*, 1832.

the property at once, they would have to pay only the present price for it, and the thing would be soon done; but buying at retail, or in small quantities compared with the whole, every new purchase would be at an advanced price of what they paid before; and the price being continually advancing, would compel them to take more time to accomplish their object than if prices remained stationary.

The aristocracy, or paper money making people, catch at every thing they can to make us believe that all they are doing is for the benefit of the people; and they pretend to prove their sincerity by a parcel of arguments that appear very deep, and in reality are deep, because they are without bottom and incomprehensible; the understanding of the people is confounded, and they are unable to gainsay what is advanced. The "American System," "Home Protection," "Internal Improvement," and such like sentences, tickle the people's ears, and fit them to be led about whichever way their oppressors are pleased to direct them.

If we should now return to a metallic currency, it would be the best thing for this country that ever happened to it, not even excepting the Declaration of Independence; it would leave us really independent; it would rid us of the lazy, vagabond, princely, dead weight paper money makers, who are more oppressive, though silently, wherever they establish themselves, than any prince or tyrant could possibly be, and more inimical to the liberties of the people; who draw to themselves, in a secret and silent manner, the very vitals of the producers of wealth, without their knowing from whence comes the oppression, not only in this country, but all over the world; who have reduced the people of the old countries to starvation, and are now reducing the American people to the same state, by the introduction of "foreign capital," as it is called, and by the paper money capital of our own country, for which they are drawing interest out of the labor of the people equal at least to fifty millions of dollars annually; and who have the impudence and assurance to tell us that we could not perform any labor advantageously without assistance from them and their slave making money.

It matters not so much what the form of a government is, provided that the people take care there shall be no privileges and monopolies granted to particular individuals, to the exclusion of the rest of the community; and keep their circulating medium from being tampered with and debased. These are the sources of most of the oppression that the people suffer under all over the world, at the present time.

The Americans ought particularly to take care that they be really independent, and not be humbugged any longer with merely the name, while they are oppressed with so heavy a tax for the gratification of an aristocracy, or unlaboring set of drones, who draw all their sweets from the hard wrought labor of the people, without giving any equivalent.

If it were not for paper money, gold and silver would bear the same proportionate value to labor in every country. But whatever country adopts a paper currency, makes the money of less value in proportion to the quantity issued, and gives the issuers power at any time to *change* the value at their discretion, by contracting their issues. When they do this, hundreds of persons have to fail, (that had more than double the amount of property, as they thought, than what they owed,) because the money is mostly taken out of circulation, which disables them from fulfilling their contracts, by raising the value of the money which remains in circulation. The property of those persons has to be sold at auction, to those who will give most for it; and as no one has money to spare in such cases who is in business, for fear of a like misfortune, it makes fine milking for the banks, their owners and particular favorites, from that great overgrown cow, the people. They keep milking as long as they can get any thing by it; and when they can get no more, they issue, or lend their money again to those who want to borrow; and in so doing, they lower the value of the money in circulation, or in other words, they raise the price of the property they have just been buying to perhaps more than double what they bought it for. This is too profitable a business for them to relinquish voluntarily, so they play the game as often as they possibly can.

How long will it be before our honest merchants and manufacturers see the way in which they are duped and ruined, just when the banks take a notion to want their property? I wonder if they will ever see that they could carry on as extensive a business, (without having recourse to any branch of the credit system,) with only the gold and silver that is in the country, even supposing there to be not one quarter of what there is, and that they would be sure of having no fluctuation in its value; that they would be sure of having a steady business always, with no brisk and dull times alternately, but a good steady business for ever? What hurt would it be if we should have to call ten pounds ten shillings, or ten shillings sixpence? I am sure there is uothing in the sound of the different words that ought to weigh a straw

against the advantages. To be sure it would not suit speculators that expect to make their fortunes by some lucky hit, some slight of hand trick; but it would make fortunes the sure reward of industry, honesty, and application.

What proportionate number of farmers are there in this country, who owned farms ten years ago, that own them now? Let every countryman look about and count among his neighbors, particularly those who have been accommodated with loans from the banks and speculators. Perhaps you will find one in ten that has been accommodated, holding on to his farm yet, but certainly not more. With these loans the farmers were going to do great things; going to raise produce and live stock for trade and exportation; and most of them did actually improve their farms, build houses, barns, fences, and what not, till their mortgages were ripe; and then, "Presto, change, begone!" as the slight of hand folks say; they found it was the banks' or speculators' property they had been so industrious in improving, and that they themselves were left destitute by allowing themselves to be accommodated.

The price of labor does not rise as fast as property, by an increase of the currency. Mr. Cobbett,* in his discussion on the currency with Mr. Attwood, at Birmingham, after speaking of the rise in mechanics' wages, as every thing else rose by the depreciating effects of a flood of paper money, says:—"That repeated experience in all the countries in the world comes at the back of reason to convince us that the wages of labor never can keep pace, in rising, with the rise in the price of commodities; that the rise in the latter keeps an exact pace with the depreciation in the value of money; but that the rise in the former does not take place silently, but becomes a matter of dispute; that the parties in this contest are the master and the man; that the master is able to dispense with the man's work for a little while, but that the man must eat; that the contest is, therefore, unequal; that the man is sure to be defeated; and that thus the rise in wages always keeps in arrear of the rise in the price of food and of raiment."

Now this is all true, perfectly true; but it does not go to the fountain head; it is but the dependent cause, which in this respect is like every thing else, the natural effect of some other cause. It is not in the nature of man to be unjust, when he can clearly see and understand in what justice con-

* Cobbett's Weekly Political Resister, 8th September, 1832.

sists. In this case the master of course is interested and biased in his judgment; he feels that, although he is receiving more for his produce, there is some cause silently at work which will not permit him to retain all the advance he gets; and this primitive cause it is that as surely follows the increase of the currency as its natural and absolutely necessary effect, as Mr. Cobbett's cause is the effect of this cause, or that the sun's rising is one effect of the earth's revolution. It is true the masters retain more in their hands than ought to satisfy this cause; but, as they do not know the cause, or the extent of the demand it may make upon them, it is natural for them to make themselves as safe and secure as possible from a certain attack, the nature of which to them is unknown and incomprehensible.

All paper money in circulation is drawing an interest, or revenue out of the labor of the producers of wealth; consequently, if, as is the case in this country, the paper currency costs them fifty millions of dollars a year, and, if the currency should be increased to double its present quantity, it is certain that a hundred millions of dollars would be drawn out of the produce of those who do all the labor. It is impossible for it to be otherwise, as there is no property but what is the product of labor, and those who do the labor must be despoiled of a large part, to enable these swindling private money makers to live without labor. This could not be the case if the money belonged to the people, or the king, (that is, hard money,) because wages would always keep an exact pace in rising with commodities, by an increase of the currency. This interest, with its increase by the increase of paper money; this nightmare upon the labor of the community, bears heaviest on those who have the least knowledge on these subjects; consequently it falls heaviest on the fair female portion of our humble countrymen, many, very many of whom have been obliged to have recourse to the poor house, or to the prostitute shops, to obtain the necessaries of life; and (I blush for my countrymen as I say it) there is more odium attached to their claiming their natural right of a support and maintenance from the community than attaches to an independent mode of living unexpensive to the community, supported by prostitution and crime.

There is another characteristic feature in the nature of banks, which I think should be mentioned here; and that is, banks can never square up, and pay all their debts, without being allowed a great deal of time, and there is not one in twenty that could do it with that allowance. Whenever

this work is commenced, perhaps two or three would get along pretty smoothly, if allowed plenty of time to exchange their property for money, and to get in their debts; but as the circulation decreased by their calling in their paper, prices of all kinds of property would be reduced in exact proportion to the decrease in the circulation, and whatever property the banks own, will pay less of their debts as the price falls; and, as the real money has nearly all left the country, the farther the work progressed, the more difficult it would become for them to collect their debts, or sell their property. Other banks would not dare to issue more paper than common in order to keep up prices; and in fact, they would have to curtail the business they were in the habit of doing, because, no sooner would their paper be lent out, than it would be brought back for specie to pay the notes of the banks that are squaring up. As there is not a single bank that has specie enough to satisfy one quarter of the notes on demand which it has in circulation, it would be a very ruinous business for them to lend on notes which they would not collect in two months, when they would be sure of being called on for the payment of their own paper almost immediately: it would be lending their specie when they want it to pay their own notes with.

The English government will try to get their paper in full circulation again; and I have no doubt they will succeed, as the people do not half understand the subject yet: but when the people do understand the subject, they will not be long in ridding themselves of this base monopoly, this paper money thing, (chartered for the express purpose of allowing a set of men to "live upon the interest of what they owe,") and all the intrigue and corruption belonging to it. The English is the greatest commercial nation in the world; but we bid fair, with our national and little banks, to take the palm from them; and then we shall be as they are now, the richest and poorest nation on earth.

It is the boss paper money makers, alias loan mongers, who have made all the wars between nations for the last fifty years, or more: they lend to either party in order to get a revenue out of the labor of the people; and when they withhold their loans from one party, it is because that party has not a sufficient command over the people to insure the payments of the interest, or the other party gives a very great bonus to the loan mongers to get them to refuse their loans: so the party that can no longer obtain loans, must of necessity make peace with the other, on whatever terms they can get: the loan-monger has gained his point; he has brought both parties in

debt, and those who gain the victory, have the consolation of being deepest in for it. The people must pay the interest of these debts, created to set them a murdering one another, for the sole purpose of fastening that debt upon them; which interest will grind them to the earth, and make them perpetual slaves to the aristocracy, or money makers. Mr. Barlow, in speaking of modern wars, says, "They are wars of agreement rather than of dissensions; and the conquest is taxes, and not territory."

The people of this country were living very happily and very easy without a national debt before the last war. The loan mongers of England seeing this, and knowing it to be impossible to keep other nations long in slavery, if one were allowed to be free, determined to have a war with us, to bring us in debt; no matter who we were indebted to, provided they got us in debt, and saddled us with heavy taxes to pay the interest of it; they cared as little what we called our *form* of government, whether republic, kingdom, empire, or what not, if they could succeed in making us slaves by grinding us down with taxes.

All the European governments are under the controul of these loan mongers by being in debt; and England had to insult our commerce and flag at their bidding, till that country obliged us to declare war on them, as they could find no reasonable excuse to declare war themselves. Well, they succeeded in loading us with a debt, but not so heavy as they intended, for they were obliged to make peace in a hurry all over Europe, as they found the people were likely to see through their game; and if it came to that, the people would kick them and their system too, to their father, the devil. They have since succeeded in a peaceable way, in loading us with a national bank, and hundreds of smaller banks, which answer their purpose just as well as a national debt; but they cannot get us to make all the internal improvements they want us to, in order to employ bank money to make us pay the interest; but no doubt they will accomplish all that they can wish, if we do not put a stop to the establishing of banks all over the country.

The English national debt commenced with their banking system in 1698; the debt is now *four thousand million of dollars*, for which the people are taxed near *one hundred and fifty million of dollars* a year, to pay the interest, exclusive of the tax for the interest of paper money in circulation. This, nor any large national debt could ever have been contracted without a banking system; and a banking system is almost

sure to bring a heavy national debt. When a nation gets rid of a heavy debt, it is always done by a revolution ; it cannot be done in any other way, for the debt is sure to go on increasing till the people can bear it no longer.

In all revolutions, the people ought never to take into consideration, in any manner whatever, the debts of their former government ; for they will be sure to remain slaves, and gain nothing by their revolution, whenever they pay any respect to former debts; the people have never had value received; they have been, in all cases, swindled out of their signature. It is the weight of taxes, occasioned by their debts, that produce revolution. If one person holds a note against another, and the last denies having had value therefor; if the first cannot prove that he gave something of the full value expressed in the note, and of as good quality as he had stated it to be, he cannot recover, either by law, justice, or equity. If the "public creditor" did give full value according to his claim, he must look to those he gave it to, for his pay : he knew when he lent his money, that the people were a forced or deceived security for the re-payment, and that they would remain security no longer than till they regained their rights and liberties: therefore it is just, fair, and equitable, for the people, when they have cleared themselves from that security, to let the creditor whistle for his money.

Look at France! she has lately had a revolution: the people fought for their liberties, as they thought ; but they were mistaken. These "loan mongering devils" allowed them to make what sort of government they pleased, and the poor fools thought they were going to be happy and free ; but no, the debt was retained, because it was unjust to break faith with the public creditor: the taxes bore harder on them than before, and they find they have gained nothing but increased taxation and misery, for their glorious revolution. Their burdens are now more than human nature can bear, and they will soon burst the bonds of their slavery, and, rushing like the waters of a mighty lake which has broken its bonds of constraint, overwhelm all opposition to the course of right and justice, with the mass of matter set in motion.

I was saying awhile back, that the labor of this country is taxed fifty million of dollars a year, for the support of the banking system, and similar monopolies, of this and other countries. I will here give a statement of facts, of this country only, collected in 1830, and which facts were published in Williams's New York Annual Register for 1831. The capital has been very much increased since that time.

The banks of the State of New York have "$27,975,800," capital: and the insurance of the State, "$15,550,000." The whole bank capital in the United States, is "$161,154,-535." The whole insurance capital in the United States, we will suppose to bear the same relation to the State, that the bank capital does, which makes it $89,575,741. I shall now double the whole, because banks have the right to issue double the amount of their capital, and the United States Bank has issued to this extent in bank notes and other obligations; and because the people have to pay in insurance, not only the profits of the insurers, but also the losses they sustain. It is the property they insure that pays both profit and loss; consequently the insurance has to be charged with the property in exchanging it for other property, which last must contain so much more labor as shall balance the insurance. These, then, are the dimensions of two of the machines erected in our independent country, for the support, pleasure, and tyranny of an aristocracy, or unlaboring set of princes; $501,-460,552, which, at seven cents a year, for the use of each dollar, is a tax on the labor of the people for the benefit of those princes, of *thirty-five millions, one hundred and two thousand, two hundred and thirty-eight dollars a year.* And besides this, there is "$15,786,644," capital of banks which have failed; together with nobody knows how much counterfeit money; and the increase of bank capital since 1830: these I think will swell the amount of tax on the people, for the use of this demoralizing currency, to near *fifty millions of dollars;* a sum, equal to a tax of four dollars on every man, woman, and child in the country; and enough to build *five* such canals every year, as the great *Erie, or Western Canal*, and have three or four millions to spare for incidental expenses; the cost of which canal was "$9,027,456."

There is no transaction of trade, or any thing connected with it, without a consideration for INTEREST. Let us just take a glance at this interest, this formidable antagonist of labor. It has been said, that if a penny had been put at interest at the birth of Jesus Christ, it would at this time have amounted to a sum more than enough to purchase all the property in the world. How can this be? The penny has done no work, has produced nothing of use, comfort, or luxury: it has been useful, it is true, in assisting to exchange things after they were produced, but that is all: then why should it be empowered to draw to itself, in so short a time, all the produce of labor of the whole world, from the creation to the present time, for this little service? Surely the powers of

money are wonderful, and it behoves us to have nothing to do with any that has not a real intrinsic value, for the false will swallow up the real money, and enslave and starve the people, because they cannot create property enough to satisfy the interest of it: so, the more the people encourage the making of this false money, the worse they are off. I think the legislature will have to reduce the rate of interest, when the money-makers get all the property into their hands, or the money-makers will be subject to great losses, by not being able to collect the full and *lawful* interest, as the produce of all the labor will then not more than half satisfy their demands, even if they teach the laborer to live without eating and other expenses.

The true value of the use of property, is so much labor as shall be equal to the labor bestowed in creating that property, to be paid in yearly instalments during the whole time such property may last. This is all perfectly fair, because all labor is performed for some use or convenience, and those who use or consume the produce of the labor of other persons, should make good what they use or consume, and no more; so that those who have performed the labor, may have the whole produce of it again, or as much other labor, whenever they choose to take it. Those who produce more labor than they want to consume themselves, should, if they allow others to use it, be enabled to resume it, or so much other labor, at their pleasure. What is there in the nature of property, or the produce of labor, that should enable it to increase itself? Nothing, absolutely nothing: it is not like a grain of wheat put into the ground that it may produce an hundredfold. It cannot grow: it cannot make itself to be any more property than the value of the labor bestowed upon it: then why should a person be required to give twice or thrice the quantity of labor in return for its use? It is an act of injustice to require it, and contrary to the expressed injunctions of Jesus Christ. Thus it appears that every man has a just and equitable right to the produce of his labor; and that labor performed, or property, ought not in justice to be allowed to draw any more labor than has been expended on that property: but to allow money, or the representative of property, to draw more property to itself, is, leaving the injunctions of Jesus Christ against the practice out of the question, unjust in the extreme; for the man who has money, has an imperishable demand upon the community for that amount of labor, whenever he wants it; and if he lends his money, it receives no manner of injury, for which he should receive

pay for its use, or which makes it worth a less amount than it was before it was lent.

For a farther elucidation of the unjustness and oppression of usury, I will refer my readers to the New Testament; and also to Father O'Calagan on Usury; by which last it appears, that usury was not known in Ireland, till within about forty years.

A TARIFF is never of any use as a protection, till after the currency has been tampered with; else, why should not one town make a tariff against another, and carry the "American System" to its full extent? The answer is obvious; the currency is of the same relative value in both towns: but if the value of the currency could be in any way depreciated in one town, so that it would take more of their money to purchase the produce of labor, than it would take of the money of the second town, then the first town would have to put expenses on the introduction of the produce of labor of the second town, equal to the difference in the value of their currency; or the produce of the second town would be sent to the first, and sold for a greater quantity of money than it would sell for at home, but less than the same labor could be performed for in the first, on account of the lesser value of their money: the sales money would be immediately turned into gold or silver coin, which is of universal value when left alone, and not forced into company with base paper, or other substitute for money, for which it has a great aversion; but nevertheless, is obliged to conform to the value of the currency it is caught in company with: I say, the sales money would be taken in gold or silver, and taken back to the second town, and resume the value of the currency it finds there; the traders realizing a profit nearly equal to the difference in the value of the two currencies. When the gold and silver of the first town has run out, their trade is at an end, unless they can contrive to produce some sort of thing which the other would like to have, but which they cannot produce, to exchange for what they do produce; the cheap money will not be taken by those who use a more valuable money.

But after all, what a foolish idea it is to think of protecting ourselves from the inundation of foreign produce by making ourselves pay a heavy tax to keep them out. Who gets this tax from us? The rich paper money capitalists who own the factories, to be sure; not those who have the ability to conduct them, or to operate in them. Why not let the English, French, Dutch, aye, every body, send us whatever they have a mind to? Surely they will send to us no longer than

they can get their pay; and that pay *must consist of the produe of labor performed in this country;* for as to purchasing with money, it is all humbug, the thing is impossible; it would be no more than a drop in a bucket. The balance of trade to England last year, required $21,880,541 of specie to equalize it; and we had but $23,000,000, in the whole United States; leaving about enough for two weeks trade longer. But the specie has not sensibly diminished; so we must have sent the produce of labor to some other place to get specie to supply the English drain upon us; and that other place has to send produce to England, or to some other place, and then to England, to get it back again; for it is the nature of trade to equalize itself; and there is no such thing as getting the produce of labor, without giving the produce of labor for it. Then, why so much noise about protecting the industry of the country? Every thing that is brought to us, requires all the industry to pay for it, exerted on some other thing, that it would require to produce the articles which we pretend to protect. Suppose the English, French, Dutch, or what not, will not let us send our produce there, without encumbering it with protection duty? It hurts nobody but their own people. What do we care? Or what ought we to care? If they send their produce here, they *must* take ours in return, or carry their's home again; they would never get paid for them otherwise; for between places that carry on any trade at all, the whole amount of specie in circulation, if it could be drawed out, would go but very little way towards paying the amount of such trade, let the place be what it may, whether village, city, state, nation, or empire.

Trade, if left free, and not tampered with by the legislature in trying to protect it, will always regulate itself by natural laws, without any inconvenience to the public, and very little inconvenience to individuals; whatever is wanted will be made or produced by somebody; and if any one produce a thing that is not wanted, or that he cannot produce with as litle labor as another person, he has no one to blame but himself if he lose by it; but if our legislatures encourage a person to produce things which he is unable to do as cheap as others, they are unjust to their constituents in taxing them for the benefit of that person.

If it is absolutely necessary for us to have a particular manufacture among us, let our servants that manage the national affairs carry it on, and let the whole country bear the expense, till individuals are willing to take to it without pro-

tection. In the manufacture of powder, cannon, guns, and the like, it evidently has been absolutely necessary for us, that they be produced in our own country; and the necessity has been felt as strongly, and perhaps more strongly, by those who use or consume none of them, as by the consumers. Then why tax the consumers exclusively? They should be allowed to procure them as cheap as they can be procured.

Franklin exemplified the protection system in this way:—

"Suppose a country, X, with three manufactures, as cloth, silk, and iron, supplying three other countries, A, B, C, but is desirous of increasing the vent, and raising the price in favor of her own clothiers: In order to this, she forbids the importation of foreign cloth from A.

"A, in return, forbids silks from X.

"Then the silk workers complain of a decay of trade, and then

"X, to content them, forbids silks from B.

"B, in return, forbids iron ware from X.

"Then the iron workers complain of decay, and

"X forbids the importation of iron from C.

"C, in return, forbids cloth from X.

"What is got by all these prohibitions? *Answer.* All four find their common stock of the enjoyments and conveniences of life diminished."

This protection system has always been a favorite hobby with all governments, to tickle and tax the people on.

No nation, town, or even individual, can carry on a cash trade for any great length of time without becoming bankrupt; they must have the produce of labor to exchange for the articles they purchase; therefore they must have labor constantly being performed, or their income is at an end. It is the exchanging the produce of labor that constitutes trade; money is merely a machine to facilitate that exchange.

Ah! you may tell that to the marines, (says some one,) don't I know better? Don't Mr. Grind-the-Poor live upon the interest of his money? Was he ever suspected of doing a day's work in his life, or hiring any one to work for him? Aint he as rich as a Jew now, and aint he getting richer and richer every day? No likelihood of his becoming bankrupt, I guess; so none of your gammon; your stuff is all moonshine, to my notion.

Very well: but where does he get his interest from?

Why, he gets some of it from Mr. Vulcan, the iron manufacturer, to whom he was so very kind and obliging as to lend

the money as a capital to start business with. You see, I work there; so I know something about it.

Ah! that was very kind of him; but where does Mr. Vulcan get the money from, to pay this interest to his kind friend and benefactor?

Hey? [*Very thoughtful.*]

I say, where does Mr. Vulcan get the money from to pay this interest? Does it not come out of either the profits that ought to go to pay him for his labor in conducting the business, or out of the wages that ought to go to those who furnish the bodily labor of his manufactory? It must come from one or the other, unless he has a fund laid by on purpose to pay this interest with; and in that case it would soon run out, you know.

Well, now, I never thought of that. And so, as nobody can get money without doing something for it, it 's the labor in doing that something, that measures the value of the money he receives, aint it?

To be sure it is. And now, to take your own case in another matter, Mr. Sledge-hammer: if you had to wait six months before you could get paid for your labor, could you live on the same wages you do now? Would not your grocer, and butcher, and baker, charge you more for their things, if you could not pay for them till six months after getting them?

Yes, that 's true; I should raise my wages if I did not get my pay every Saturday night. I know the people I trade with would charge more, if I did not pay right down; and I hant got the face to beat um down, when I hant got the money to pay with: and besides, they would make it up some way or other; they would charge on their books, either a higher price than they told me, or they would charge things I never had, thinking I should forget all about it before the six months were up. And if I want any of the things I have myself made, I have got to pay a tax on um for the support and profit of Mr. Grind-the-Poor before I can have um. I see how it is, but I cant see why it should be so.

You see, Mr. Sledge-hammer, that since the introduction of paper, or fictitious money, everybody has become wild to get into trade that could by possibility do so, in hopes of getting a living and a fortune easier than by work; and this vagabond spirit of laziness having brought so many into trade who had a little money, or could borrow, that they were obliged to sell their goods to persons who did not want them, or give up business as traders, this introduced our present system of *Credit*, which is a dependant upon the

banking system, and was unknown till after the banks had introduced their demoralizing substitute for money. The traders understood human nature enough to know that people will often purchase things they do not want, if the time of payment be thrown out of sight in the distance, and if there be no money visible during the transaction. Your boss must follow, in this respect, the customs of trade, like every body else; he must give credit if he be doing a large business; he must also get credit on the material he works up, or on the money he purchases with, and very probably on the money he pays his workmen with: so, if he cannot get the interest which he pays for his credit out of his customers, he must get it out of his workmen; in either case, if you purchase, you pay a part of the tax; whereas, if the money he does business with were his own, the same profit he now gets would enable him to carry on business, and he would be satisfied; and either his workmen, or the consumers of his goods, would get what he now pays to support a man in laziness from the labor of the community.

This system of credit I should advise you to look over and examine closely by yourself, as I have not time now to talk with you about it. You will, in your examination, find out who is benefited and who injured by it; you will see whether the honest and industrious producer of wealth has to pay a tax on all he buys, to pay for all losses the person he buys from may sustain by giving credit; you will see that if your merchant lose twenty or thirty per cent. by bad debts, (which is a very common amount,) you have to pay twenty or thirty cents out of every dollar you spend, to make good this loss, and the remaining seventy or eighty cents goes for the cost of the goods to the merchant, added to his fair wages for distributing them. Your merchant has had a like tax to pay to screen the person of whom he bought from the effects of bad debts; and so on through half a dozen hands. So, you will very probably see, by the time you get the goods, nearly the whole cost of them has gone to support a set of vagabond idlers who do not pay for what they buy, or another set who pay from the wealth they have already absorbed through the means of interest on their paper stuff, which they call money; and the honest industry of the community has to support these two sets of idlers, who are too expensive to be honest, without any sort of compensation but insolence and oppression. I have no doubt, Mr. Sledge-hammer, that you will come to right conclusions if you take up the subject systematically: so I will bid you good by.

As I was saying before Mr. Sledge-hammer came along, that every nation, village, or individual, that carries on trade must have labor constantly being performed, I will now say something on that matter.

Let us look at the trade between New York and Rochester. The produce of the labor of Rochester is mostly flour, a very small proportion of which is required for consumption there, and in that neighborhood. This flour, after deducting for home consumption, we will suppose is carried to New York. Do those persons who deal in flour, take money for it in New York to carry back to Rochester? Certainly not; the money is spent in tea, coffee, sugar, hardware, and a thousand other things that are wanted in Rochester and that neighborhood; and if flour dealers do take money back, it must and will work itself into the hands of those who have purchased other things in New York, and has to be immediately sent there again to pay for those other things. But in general, the persons selling in New York, if they did not themselves want to purchase, would prefer to be paid at home, and save the risk of loss or robbery in the transportation; and they let their flour, or the money they receive for it, go to pay for goods purchased by other persons, and these other persons pay the amount of their purchase to the flour dealers in Rochester. Thus we see, the transaction between the places is only an exchange of flour for other property, and money is used merely for the convenience it affords in distributing the flour or other property in large or small quantities, as may be wanted.

As money is merely a machine to *facilitate* trade, or the exchange of property, we will put it out of sight a minute or two, and see how trade will look without it. We can now see very plainly that any person, (village or nation,) in order to trade, or live, must produce something to trade with, or live upon; and that person will exchange all his production but what he wants for his own use, for the production of other persons; so, let him accumulate the productions of other persons as much as he can, he gets nothing in fact but what he has himself produced; and he cannot get more of the produce of others than what he has produced himself, only on credit, with the expectation of his giving an equivalent produce in a reasonable length of time. Therefore, if any person (village, or nation) grows rich, it is owing to the accumulated surplus of production which he by his industry has produced, and not to the quantity of money he collects together, as the money merely says, This man has produced so much

labor over and above what he wanted for his own use: or, This man has produced so much labor for the benefit of the community; witness this their acknowledgment, for which he is entitled to draw the same amount of labor out of the community, whenever he chooses to do so.

This shows that if any person, or body of persons, is allowed to make money, or the representative of labor, it is defrauding the people out of so much labor, or property, as the money so made may represent.

"INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS," is one of the pretty and captivating phrases which are used to tickle the people into slavery. They seem likely to go on here, as they have with this and other abuses in England, till the laboring classes are left without food more than enough to just sustain life in the body; owing, in a great measure, to their being made upon *credit*, the heavy interest of which has to be paid out of the labor of those who produce all the property of the community; they give such a mania and such facilities for trading, and such fine excuses for taxing, that there is no produce left at home to keep the actual producers from starving: they seem to go on as though trade, and a capacity for being taxed, were the sole objects and end of our existence. England is a fine example of this; there is no country in the world where they have so great facilities for communication from place to place, such as roads, canals, railroads, and the like, called "internal improvements;" yet there is no country, Ireland excepted, where the producers of wealth fare worse. The mania for trade there is so great, that the Parliament has been obliged to pass laws limiting the quantity of provisions that the laboring people shall have allowed them, to prevent its being carried away and sold: the law, however, virtually says, that those who create all the wealth of the country, shall have no clothes, no house, no fire, and no comforts whatever, but must work like horses to produce wealth for the rich, that the rich may have the produce for the purposes of trade, to be carried about on the "great national improvements;" and when his day's work is done, he shall have a stated quantity of bread to keep him from starving, as his services will be wanted next day; and he is a lucky wight who can get the hogs to accommodate him, his wife, and children, with lodgings and a little warmth. The scale of allowance adopted by some of the county magistrates says that a man, with his wife, and three children, shall be allowed eight shillings sterling a week; that is, when the man can get no work to do, for what he earns by work, is deducted

from this sum. Eight shillings sterling a week, is twenty-five cents a day, or five cents for each individual, which would not furnish enough bread here, where it is much cheaper, to satisfy hunger; and if their wages do not amount to this sum, the overseers of the poor must make up the difference. There are *millions* of laborers in England, actually in this situation. Before internal improvements were introduced upon credit, created by banking systems, in the reign of Richard II., men were punished for small crimes by being obliged to *fast* a fortnight on *bread* and *beer:* and in the reign of Edward III., there was an act of parliament passed to fix the price of meat. "After naming four sorts of meat, beef, pork, mutton, and veal, the preamble has these words; 'These being the food of the poorest sort!' "*

Only look at that! Before internal improvements were become fashionable by the support of a false currency, the people were obliged to stay upon the land, and eat, and drink, and wear, all that the land would produce; and when any one committed a small crime, were punished, by being made to fast on as much bread and beer as they could eat and drink. (My God! What millions of honest, industrious laborers now living, would consider it the greatest blessing that could be conferred on them, to be punished in the same way for no crime at all.) But, no sooner did the false currency come into fashion, than all manner of facilities and contrivances were introduced for taking the produce away from the producers, to carry it to market; that is, to places where it could be used for swapping, speculation, and trade, in order that the lazy and vicious might get a living out of it without being obliged to labor.

Governments and Corporations are always ready enough to run the people into debt, when any thing is wanted to *beautify the city*, or other place; or when they can wheedle the people into a notion to *hire* money for some other vain and flashy project; or, for gold boxes to give to the devil knows who;† but when called on to make appropriation for things

* Cobbett's Poor Man's Friend.

† The unconstitutional and unrepublican ceremony and expense of making Mr. Van Buren a citizen of the city of New York, and the heartless debates on the situation of the late Alderman Smith's family, will be useful here as evidence to prove my assertion true, if any person should be inclined to doubt it; both having been before the Common Council within the last two months.

Mr. Van Buren's case will not need to be explained here, as it has been published in most of our newspapers.

Alderman Smith, during the prevalence of the cholera, was the most active man in the community in attending to the sick, and in procuring medical advice

useful and really necessary for the comfort and well being of the people, they know not how to take hold of it; it is out of the line of business they have devoted their time and attention in learning: it is something they are unused to; and they seem determined to remain unlearned as to their duty to their masters, the people, as long as the people can be made to consider them masters, instead of servants.

Corporate bodies are generally like spendthrifts; a spendthrift pays always grudgingly for things necessary to his comfort and convenience; but things of ornament and show tickle his vanity, and make him think he appears of importance in the eyes of others, and for which appearance he grudges no price as long as he can command the means for this gratification. Borrowing, with corporate bodies, is the most general way of raising money, because the people never have to pay it again, but only have to pay the interest of the debt for ever. The people do not feel this mode of raising funds to make improvements much at first, because the tax to pay the interest is but a tenth part of what would be required to pay the whole money; but when the interest of many debts has to be drawed from the people every year, they then feel the oppression, when it is too late to be remedied. The money makers are contriving and putting into the heads of our servants, all sorts of schemes for beautifying and improving, as they call it, our public places, that they may look well in the eyes of genteel strangers that may visit us; but the real object of the money makers is, that they may lend their paper money that costs nothing, and in fact is nothing, and draw for the use of it, a revenue out of the labor of the people, that they may live without doing any useful thing, or labor, themselves; they give a certain sum down, for another proportionate sum, to be paid yearly forever out of the taxes paid by the people. The reason that we, the people, have not been able to see and avoid these abuses is, the offices are filled with persons who are generally mere tools of the paper monied interest; and when it is perceived that we get a glimpse of our true situation, and show a determination to take the best road we can out of it, they turn in pretence to our side, and with their twattle, blindfold and twistle us about,

and attendance for them. He took the cholera, and died a martyr to his benevolence in the service of the public, leaving his wife and several small children destitute of the means of support. The wife became deranged in consequence of her accumulated misfortunes; and the people's servants, possessing "a little brief authority," had the heartless effrontery to *debate* at *different times* on the propriety of allowing a small sum a week, to pay her board for a few weeks in the Lunatic Asylum. Comment is unnecessary.

till we know not which way we face, and then they push us along the way they wanted us to go, without the possibility of our knowing but that it is the right way, till we are so deep in the mire as to be unable to extricate ourselves.

The taxes raised directly and indirectly to pay the interest on paper money, borrowed or used to create internal improvements, would have been enough to have paid for all the real improvements, if they had been levied directly on the people, instead of raising the interest only for the benefit of our paper princes: but as it now is, we have to pay the full price of them every ten years, forever; or, every generation has to pay three times for every real or pretended improvement that ever has been made, till our servants see fit to pay off the principal; which principal they are not able to pay in any other way than by borrowing anew, as the interest that accumulates on our present debts will require all the taxes that can be safely raised to satisfy. But suppose our servants could go on running us in debt, without the interest ever arriving to that point where we should be unable to pay it; where we should become bankrupts, and have to suffer ourselves to become slaves to our creditors, and allow them to take all the produce of our labor from us, but barely enough to sustain life, or fight ourselves clear of them. I say, suppose we could go on running in debt without its producing these results, and suppose the improvements to be real advantages to the people, what would be the true amount of those advantages? We get the use of things on credit, which we could not get so soon by ten years, if we paid honestly for them when obtained: but to secure this amount of advantage, we must covenant to pay by yearly instalments the full value of said improvements every ten years, for ever. The disagreeableness in an honest mind, of using things borrowed, or on credit, might be considered a great drawback on these advantages, but I shall leave it out of the account. So ten years is all the advantage we gain by anticipating our resources; and the disadvantages, oppression by taxation and slavery, till relieved by bankruptcy and revolution, which is as natural and certain a termination of the existence of accumulating debts, as death is to animal existence.

If the credit of our servants is good enough to borrow fictitious money from those to whom they have given the privilege of making it, one would suppose their credit was good enough to make what money they want on their own hook, and save the people from a part of their burdens by paying no interest; but no, our servants have made the banks for

their own use and convenience, and they must borrow money from them for the use of the people, in order to get an interest themselves out of the burdens of the people.

I would not have it understood that I am opposed to internal improvements, but merely to the running in debt for them. We should make our servants pay for these benefits as we receive them; and make them come directly to us, the people, for money to pay with. Allow them not to raise money by imposts, for that is the mode adopted by all despotic governments; and is one great means employed to create a despotism: no man knows how much he pays in this way. I pay three dollars and twenty cents on eight pounds of tea, and ten dollars and eighty-five cents on three hundred and sixty-five pounds of coarse sugar, consumed in my family of eight persons, in a year; but what I pay on all other articles I consume, I cannot tell; perhaps fifty or sixty dollars in all; whereas in a fair direct tax it would be about eight dollars, for the support of our national institutions. Imposts are the strong hold of corruption. Direct tax would be a little more disagreeable at first; but we should have to pay so much, so very much less, as would more than compensate for the disagreeableness of the thing: our servants would not dare to ask for money, except for some specified object; and then we have a check upon them, whether we will have the specified object or not. In imposts, we see not that we give any thing, and are therefore careless how the money is spent; and our servants, finding no trouble in getting money by robbing us without our knowledge, are equally careless how it is spent; and let the amount be never so great, they will find a way to spend it, and most likely in a way not the most advantageous to the liberties of the people. It does not require very deep legislation to spend money when they have it, or have credit; but the reverse, when the money must be asked for before it can be spent, and their masters do not allow them to obtain credit. Therefore, let us have every thing paid for as we go along, and we shall not be taxed for interest, to support a set of lazy paper money drones.

I shall have but little to say to, or of, LEGISLATORS here, as I have been obliged to jostle them pretty often amongst other things, in wading through this work. I should recommend that any member of the legislature, who should propose a law, or an amendment to a law, that could by possibility be fairly construed to mean more than one thing, should have his name attainted, so that he shall not be eli-

gible to the legislature, as being unfit for the business which he sets himself up to do; that is, lawgiver to the people.

Legislators always have had great itchings to meddle with matters out of their jurisdiction. Their duties consist in the passing good and wholesome laws, by which justice can be administered to the whole people for whom they legislate; by which vice and crime can be rooted out, or restrained and punished; and by which habits of virtue and industry will be encouraged: but to grant monopolies, favors, and privileges to individuals, or to meddle in any way with religion, other than to protect every one in the community, in the enjoyment of his particular belief, is certainly beyond their delegated and moral jurisdiction, and brings them immediately into a maze of bewildered legislation, from which it is almost impossible to recover, and infringes upon the natural right and independence of the whole people for the benefit of a few.

To conclude, I would say to the honest laboring class of my countrymen, look well after the persons to whom you have delegated the power to serve you, for on them hang all the oppressions under which you suffer: they like too well to listen to the silken voice of your oppressors, and can never understand the gruff voice of the hardy and honest practicers of that part of scripture, which says "six days shalt thou labor," without their speaking in a manner not to be misunderstood. Strive to learn by all means now in your power, what is, and what ought to be, that you may know what to set your servants a doing; and also, increase those means of instruction by all the means in your power, as you value your independence; for independence cannot be long maintained by a people ignorant of their rights and duties, and of what is necessary for their well being. Make your servants stick to the constitution, without stretching it this way and that, to fit their own convenience. See that they speedily return to the lawful currency of our country. This cannot be done without producing great embarrassment to the country, but it will not destroy, with the banks, all the provisions and property; neither will it prevent the sun from shining, or the rain from coming to increase the produce of the earth; but it will produce greater embarrassment the longer reform is delayed, and occasional embarrassments in the intermediate time: it is a thing that must happen in the regular course of nature, as sure as death. See that your servants do not get meddling with trade by pretending to give you an advantage over your brother of another nation, but in fact, to make you more willing to be swindled out of your

honest labor by taxes of one kind or another at home. And see also, that they do not overstep the bounds of modesty and decency, in telling you what you shall believe, or not believe. about "Our Father which art in Heaven."

These things ought to take deep root in your consideration, in order that the smiling face of our country and its institutions may not lead you to suppose that trade and speculation are the only objects and end of our existence; and that man can possess no higher ambition than to see which can be the most successful in swindling his neighbor, and collecting together large masses of property.

It now remains for the creators of wealth to say, while they have the power, whether this republic shall, by banks, monopolies, and irresponsible legislation, become a nation of princes and paupers; or, by taking their proper station in society, swear that the declaration of independence is a truth, "that all men are created equal," and show their determination to maintain it. In a little while, it will be beyond their power to decide this question by any other means than force of arms.

Nov. 25, 1832.

APPENDIX.

BROKEN BANKS.

The following statement will give a summary view of the unjust, though perhaps legal speculations made upon the working classes of the United States, under the sanction of bank charters, allowing some favored companies to issue notes without being responsible for their redemption:

In Maine there are	7	Broken Banks.
Massachusetts,	3	do.
Rhode Island,	5	do.
Connecticut,	3	do.
New York,	10	do.
New Jersey,	9	do.
Pennsylvania,	19!	do.
Delaware,	2	do.
Maryland,	6	do.
District of Columbia,	2	do.
Virginia,	2	do.
South Carolina,	2	do.
Georgia,	1	do.
Ohio,	13	do.
Kentucky	All broken.	
Tennessee,	3	broken Banks.
Alabama,	2	do.
Michigan,	3	do.
Total,	97	excluding Kentucky.

Ninety-seven banks, with an average capital of $500,000—making a total of *forty-eight millions five hundred thousand dollars* of broken bank notes! and, including Kentucky, about FIFTY MILLIONS! ! This immense sum has been lost by the *People*, ruining thousands of Farmers, Mechanics, and Working Men, and, indeed, all classes of society.

EXTRACTS

FROM A

SPEECH OF AMOS KENDALL,

AT A

CELEBRATION OF THE "CENTRAL HICKORY CLUB,"

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

"It is acknowledged by all, that the science of government is in its infancy. Like other sciences, it has been considered too much as a mystery. As in them so in this, as soon as this idea of mystery shall be dispelled, it will be found to be a very simple thing. It will be found, that all just government consists *in protecting man against wrong from his neighbor*. Every step beyond this is an approach to tyranny.

"In all civilized as well as barbarous countries, a few rich and intelligent men have built up *Nobility Systems;* by which, under some name, and by some contrivance, the few are enabled to live upon the labor of the many. They have been called by different names in different countries; but, until a recent date, may all be classed under the denomination of *Kings, Lords, and Priests.* Modern times have added another class, which we may call Fundholders. In England, they are the creditors of the government and the stockholders in corporations.

"These systems are founded on deception, and maintained by power. The people are persuaded to permit their introduction, under the plea of public good and public necessity. As soon as they are firmly established, they turn upon the people, tax and control them by the influence of monopolies, the declamation of priestcraft and government craft, and, in the last resort, by military force.

"The United States have their young *Nobility System.* Its head is the Bank of the United States: its right arm, a protecting Tariff and Manufacturing Monopolies; its left, growing State debts and State incorporations. * * * * *

"The Manufacturing monopolies are, if possible, a greater curse. It is an error to say their evils fall exclusively upon the South. They do more injury to the people of the States where they are located, than to any others. They cut up the farming interests; they break down the independent mechanic interest; they make large masses of people the dependants of a few capitalists, laboring for little else than a bare subsistence. Already we have heard of their male operatives carted to the polls to vote the will of their masters, and of their females subjected to worse than slavish labor and most brutal punishment. In fine, they make the people of the North *slaves to a few capitalists*, while the South and the West escape with being only *tributaries.* If the working men of the country could see how this system operates upon their liberty and upon their interest; if the bills of the storekeepers were made out for so much as the price of the article, and so much as the tax—*four dollars* for a yard of broadcloth, and *two dollars* for tax—*seven cents* for a pound of sugar, and *three cents* for tax—the whole system would be overturned in a year. It is the deception of making the tax appear as part of the price, and thus collecting it from the people without their knowing it, or, at least, thinking of it, that sustains this branch of our Nobility System. * * * * *

"In relation to the left arm of our Nobility System, State debts and State incorporations, it concentrates less immediate danger to our country, and it will be long before it is reached by the hand of reform. The time will come, however, when the people will learn that *all systems of debt and stocks* are a curse to the country,—little else than contrivances to make men rich without labor, and not counterbalanced by any good that can be derived from them. * * * * *

"Our illustrious President, in his late Message, has bodied forth the true policy which is to save this nation and increase its greatness. Abandon the exercise of doubtful powers—keep clear of corporations—bring down the protecting duties, gradually, to an equality with the others—above all, enable every American citizen to secure a freehold in the public domain—and our Union is saved, our government redeemed, peace restored throughout our borders, and our liberty fixed on a rock."

George H. Evans, Printer, 1 Mott street.

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